I: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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421 This is so, however, only in appearance. The hut is built by all
594 the different families, but each family is regarded as owning
342 a certain portion of the hut when it is finished, and it is the family that keeps this part of the hut in repair.

421 A canoe is cut by a number of men together. From the
501 outset, however, it is the property of one man, who selects
476 the tree and superintends the operation of cutting it into shape. He is always one of the older men, and he enlists the services of the younger men to help him. When finished the canoe is his property, and he can do with it what he pleases, giving it away, if he wishes, and no one has any share of ownership in a canoe on the ground that he helped to make it.

421 While all portable property is thus owned by individuals, the
431 Andamanese have customs which result in an approach to com-
574 munism. One of these is the custom of constantly exchanging presents with one another. When two friends meet who have not seen each other for some time, one of the first things they do is to exchange presents with one another. Even in the ordinary everyday life of the village there is a constant giving and receiving of presents. A younger man or woman may give some article to an older one without expecting or receiving any return, but between equals a person who gives a present always expects that he will receive something of equal value in exchange. At the meetings that take place between neighbouring local groups the exchange of presents is of great importance. Each of the visitors brings with him a number of articles that he distributes amongst the members of the group that he visits. When the visitors depart they are loaded with presents received from their hosts. It requires a good deal of tact on the part of everyone concerned to avoid the unpleasantness that may arise if a man thinks that he has not received things as valuable as he has given, or if he fancies that he has not received quite the same amount of attention as has been accorded to others.

431 It is considered a breach of good manners ever to refuse
576 the request of another. Thus if a man be asked by another to give him anything that he may possess, he will immediately do so. If the two men are equals a return of about the same value will have to be made. As between an older married man

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AZ2 Andamans AZ2

netted bags and fishing nets. In the Little Andaman it is used for binding their arrows, as well as for netting. 824 283

The most valuable fibre of the Great Andaman tribes is that of the *Anadendron paniculatum*, which is used for string and thread and for bow-strings. Until recent times the method of preparing the fibre was not known to the natives of the Little Andaman, but they have now learnt it from the natives of the Great Andaman with whom they have been brought in contact, and the use of the fibre for string and thread is coming in amongst them.

The fibre is not easy to prepare. Long thin branches of the creeper are cut, which must be neither too young nor too old. To obtain these it is often necessary to climb up into high trees, for the *Anadendron* is a climbing plant. The creeper is cut into lengths of from 20 to 40 cm. The bark (inner and outer layers) is peeled off these in strips of from 7 to 10 mm. in width. A strip of the bark is taken and placed on the thigh, inner surface downwards, and is scraped with a *Cyrena* shell until the outer bark is entirely removed and the fibres remain clean and separate. These are dried in the sun or over a fire and, if not needed for immediate use, are stored for future occasion. The fibre is fine and of a light greyish brown colour. In its qualities it somewhat resembles ramie fibre. It is extremely strong.

There are a number of other trees and plants that are known by the natives to afford fibre, but they are not used, or if they are, it is extremely rarely.

The Andaman jungles have a number of different species of *Calamus*, and the canes or rattans of these are put to all sorts of uses, such as the making of baskets, the lashings and furnishings of canoes, and in building huts. In the Little Andaman one species of cane is used to provide the fibre for women's belts. The outer skin is removed and the remainder of the cane is divided into fine strips or threads. A bundle of these tied together constitutes the belt worn by the women of the Little Andaman. The outer sheath of the leaf-stem of the *Calamus tigrinus* is used by the natives of the Great Andaman Division for making mats. Lengths of the leaf-stem are cut and the outer skin is removed in strips of about 3 to 5 mm. in width. The still adhering pith is removed with a *Cyrena* shell, and the strips are dried in the sun and then made into mats. 824 285 [501] [291]

The leaf-stem of a species of palm is cut while green and is then shredded into long strips. The fibre thus obtained really consists of the leaflets of the young unopened leaves of the palm. It is used in the 824 291

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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A number of other common designs consist of parallel lines of dots or of short strokes, an example of which is shown in Fig. 42 *f*.

By far the greater number of the Andamanese designs are based on the following elements, (1) parallel lines crossing a surface from side to side at right angles to the edge or else in a sloping direction (about 45°), (2) parallel lines of dots or of short lines, i.e. parallel broken lines, as in Fig. 42 *f*, (3) zig-zag lines, which may be single, or parallel or opposed so as to make lines of lozenges. As an example of the way in which these elements may be combined two designs copied from bamboo necklaces are shown in Fig. 43.

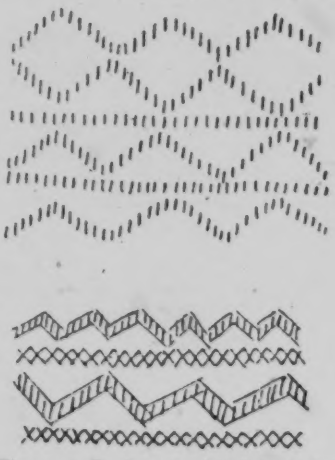

Fig. 43. Designs on bamboo necklace from the North Andaman

It would perhaps be possible to show that there is a real connection between the ornamentation of the Andamanese and that of the Semang, as there is certainly a considerable degree of superficial resemblance, but at present we understand so little the psychological processes underlying the use of ornament amongst primitive peoples that the subject is one of considerable difficulty.

Canoes.

Canoes are in regular use on the coast in all parts of the islands. There are three types of canoe. (1) The Little Andaman canoe, with one outrigger, propelled with paddles or with a pole. (2) The Great Andaman small canoe, with one outrigger, propelled with paddles or with a pole. (3) The Great Andaman large canoe, without outrigger, propelled with oars.

The third kind of canoe mentioned above is a recent innovation. The natives themselves say that such canoes have only been made in recent times, since they have been able to obtain a plentiful supply of iron tools, and so have been able to cut down and hollow out large trunks[1]. They seem to have been invented by the natives of the South Andaman, and copied by those of the Middle and North Andaman.

[1] Man, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XII, p. 367, note 4.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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501 Canoes of this type are propelled by rowing with short oars, except in shallow water where they are poled. This method of propulsion (rowing as opposed to paddling) was adopted in imitation of the boats with which they have become familiar since the European occupation.

For the small canoe of the Great Andaman five or six species of soft-wooded trees are used, of which three are species of *Sterculia*. A suitable tree is selected near the shore or a creek, and is felled. Care is taken to make it fall in a particular direction. Thus, if the trunk is curved, the convex side of the curve will have to be the bottom of the canoe, and the tree should fall so that this side lies on the ground. Trees are very rarely regular and before beginning the work of cutting the natives have to decide how it should be cut so as to give the best result, i.e., the greatest stability.

396 501 After the tree is felled the trunk is cut to the requisite length. The inside of the canoe is first roughly hollowed out with the adze, no use being made of fire. The bark is then removed from the outside of the trunk and the two ends are shaped. Finally, the inside is carefully finished with the adze so as to reduce the sides and bottom to the requisite thickness.

Except at the stem and stern, the canoe retains the shape of the tree, only the bark being removed, and the sides and bottom being formed of the alburnum or sap-wood. At the stern a small platform is cut projecting over the water, which serves as a seat for the steersman. At the prow a larger platform is cut, on which the harpooner stands when he is harpooning turtle or fish. Below these two platforms the ends are not cut away squarely but are rounded from side to side. The prow of the canoe is in every case the lower and therefore broader end of the trunk. It is only in this way that a sufficiently large platform can be provided for the harpooner.

The trees used for canoes have a pithy core and there is therefore a small patch in both the prow and the stern which would admit the water. In former times these two places were caulked with bees'-wax. At the present time the natives often nail a piece of tin (part of an old kerosene tin, for example), with some rags beneath it, on the outside of the canoe at these two places.

[237]

When the hull of the canoe is finished it is moved to the shore or to the bank of a creek and the outrigger is attached. The float is a straight spar of light wood. In the North Andaman the wood of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* is often used, but Mr Man says that in the South Andaman the float is always made from a species of *Sterculia* (*mai* in

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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Aka-Bea)[1]. The ends of the float are only roughly shaped. The broader end of the float is forward.

The float is attached to a number of booms, of which there are never less than three in the smallest canoes, while there may be as many as eight or nine in a large canoe. A medium-sized canoe has five or six booms. The boom is a thin straight piece of tough wood, of which one end is sharpened and thrust right through two holes cut in the gunwales of the canoe opposite to one another, the sharpened end projecting for a few inches on the port side of the canoe. The boom thus projects about three feet on the starboard side on the level of the gunwale.

Where the boom passes through the gunwales of the canoe it is bound with cane, and the cane is bound round the whole of that part of the boom that is within the canoe between the two gunwales. (See

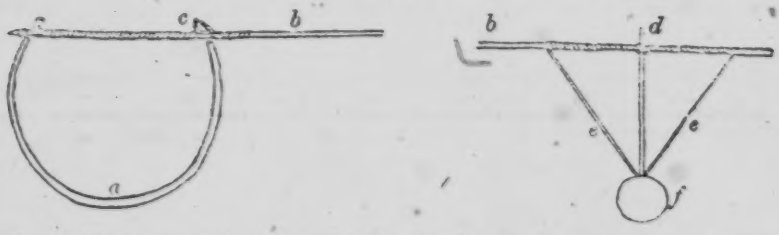

Fig. 44. Transverse section of canoe and outrigger. *a*, hull; *b*, boom; *c*, cane binding over boom; *d*, stick attaching boom to float; *e*, stays of cane; *f*, float

Fig. 44.) This portion of the boom forms a seat for the man paddling the canoe, so that he sits on a level with the gunwale with his feet on the floor of the canoe.

The boom is attached to the float by means of sticks of tough wood. These sticks, having pointed ends, are driven into the float, one perpendicular, and the other two at an angle on each side. The tops of the three sticks are fastened to the boom a few inches from its end by means of a strip of cane. The arrangement of the three sticks is shown in Fig. 45.

The strip of cane with which the sticks are bound to the boom is wound spirally round the boom itself for a few inches and is then carried down round the float and back to the boom again on the other side. The three sticks provide an efficient resistance against a longitudinal thrust (i.e., a thrust in the same direction as the line of the

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 397.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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canoe). The strip of cane passing from the boom round the float and back to the boom again provides a resistance against any lateral thrust on the float. The three sticks, being driven in when the wood of the float is dry, do not readily work loose, as the water in which it is constantly immersed keeps the wood swollen. The cane binding, including the stays on each side, may work loose, but can readily be tightened or renewed. Each of the booms is attached to the float in exactly the same way, and the whole arrangement is very efficient in keeping the float rigidly attached to the hull in such a position that it rests on the surface of the water when the hull itself rides freely balanced.

Canoes of this type vary in dimensions within wide limits. A small canoe with only three booms, which would carry three persons, measured 4·85 metres in length over all with a beam of about 35 centimetres. A large canoe may measure as much as 9 metres with a proportionate beam.

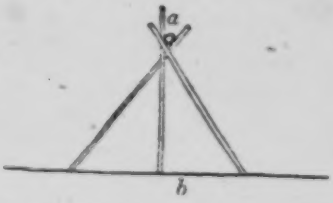

Fig. 45. Showing manner in which the boom (*a*) is connected with the float (*b*).

A well-made canoe will often balance well enough as it stands, but it is sometimes necessary to balance it with ballast of stones or pieces of coral. In any case the canoe is easily overturned in a rough sea unless the occupants can maintain the balance with their bodies. As the canoe is made of light wood it cannot sink even when full of water, and the natives easily right an overturned canoe, bale it out, and get in again, even in a rough sea.

The furniture of a canoe consists of the ballast (of stone), a piece of stone (or sometimes a piece of tin) on which to keep a small fire smouldering, an anchor consisting of a lump of coral or stone attached to a length of rope, a *Nautilus* shell or two for baling out the canoe, a bamboo pole of about 18 feet in length for poling the canoe in shallow water, and paddles.

In the platform overhanging the prow a few holes are cut. These holes are sometimes used to attach the rope by which the canoe is fastened to an anchor. One or more turtle skulls are often attached so as to hang down beneath the platform. In turtle-hunting expeditions on dark nights a torch is slung beneath the forward platform so as to shed its light on the water while the harpooner remains in shadow.

When a canoe is finished it is decorated with designs painted on it with red paint and white clay, particularly on the forward platform and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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along the gunwale. These designs soon wear off when the canoe is in use and are not renewed.

The paddles used by the Andamanese vary considerably in size and to some extent in shape, but the following description with its accompanying figure gives a fair idea of a typical specimen. The whole paddle has a length of 123·5 centimetres, the shaft being 85 centimetres and the blade 38·5 centimetres. The diameter of the shaft from the blade to the middle is 2·6 centimetres, and from the middle towards the handle end it tapers to a point. The shaft is circular in section throughout its length. The blade is leaf-shaped, pointed bluntly at the apex. In section it is plano-convex, with a maximum thickness of 1·3 centimetres and a width of 8·7 centimetres. Paddles are cut with an adze from the wood of the *Myristica longifolia* and planed with a boar's tusk. They are often ornamented, when new, with painted designs in red and white.

Fig. 46. Paddle

In deep water the canoe is paddled. Each of the occupants sits facing forward. The steersman sits on the stern platform. The others sit on the seats provided by the outrigger booms. Each man paddles on which side he chooses. It rests with the steersman to maintain the canoe in its proper course. In shallow water the canoe is propelled with a pole. A man stands on the forward platform and poles the canoe, steering as he does so. In a fairly large canoe a man at the stern may also take a pole and, standing up, help to propel the canoe.

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All the work connected with the making of canoes and paddles is done by men alone, except the painting, which is usually done by women. It is the men also who make most use of canoes.

396 462

The large canoe, that is now made by all the tribes of the Great Andaman Division, is simply a canoe of the same general shape as the Great Andaman outrigger canoe, cut from a larger tree and without the outrigger. The shape of the hull, with its platforms fore and aft, is exactly the same. It seems that when the natives obtained a plentiful supply of iron tools (after 1858) they began to cut down and hollow out larger trees than formerly. Having made these larger canoes they found that they would, when well cut and ballasted with stone, float quite well without an outrigger. (It may be mentioned that the hull of a small canoe is always tested on the water before the outrigger is attached.) Indeed a well cut canoe of large size floats and balances

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1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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501 better in a rough sea than a smaller one with an outrigger. It is possible that at first these large canoes were propelled with paddles just as the outrigger canoes are, the paddlers facing forward. Having learnt to understand the principle of the oar, through their contact with the Penal Settlement, the natives applied this principle to their own canoes. It could not, of course, be applied to the small canoes, as the shape of the canoe and the position of the paddler make the use of an oar impossible. It could be applied very easily, however, to the new large canoes. In these the oarsman does not sit on a level with the gunwale, but sits down in the hull itself on a piece of wood resting on the two sides of the hull a few inches above the floor. The gunwale of the canoe is thus about on a level with the bottom of his sternum. A number of holes are made in the gunwale on each side, and by means of these, loops of cane are attached to the gunwale. The oar, which is shaped in imitation of European oars, but with a short shaft, is thrust through the loop of cane, which serves as a fulcrum or rowlock. The rowers face aft. A man at the stern steers with a paddle. In shallow water the large canoes are propelled with poles in exactly the same way as the smaller canoes.

In the bow, at about the position that would be occupied by the foremost boom in an outrigger canoe, holes are made in the gunwale on each side and a piece of wood is thrust through them as a sort of thwart. This is to provide a means of making fast the end of the harpoon line or the anchor line, and thus serves a purpose that is served by the foremost boom in the outrigger canoe.

225 The large canoes are not quite so useful in turtle-hunting as the smaller outrigger variety, as they cannot be so quickly turned when the pursued turtle doubles. Very often a large canoe and a small canoe are taken together on an expedition, the harpooning being mostly done from the smaller one while the captured turtles are placed in the larger one. A small canoe with three or four men cannot hold more than one or at most two big turtles, whereas as many as ten or a dozen can be stowed in one of the large canoes.

501 505 The chief use of the large canoes is to make journeys from place to place. One of the largest will hold as many as thirty men and women with their baggage, whereas an outrigger canoe would never carry more than nine or ten. Further, there is less chance of an even heavily laden big canoe capsizing in a rough sea than of an outrigger canoe doing so. One result of the introduction of the large canoe has therefore been to enable the natives to move much

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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more freely about the islands than formerly. The passage from the South Andaman to Ritchie's Archipelago, for instance, would only be attempted in an outrigger canoe on a very calm day, whereas in a large canoe it can be successfully accomplished even when there is something of a sea running.

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The small canoe of the Little Andaman is fairly similar to that of the Great Andaman. There are three differences. (1) The stem and stern are squarely cut in the Little Andaman, instead of being rounded off. (2) The outrigger booms are attached to the top of the gunwale by cane binding which passes through holes made in the gunwales, instead of being themselves passed through holes in the gunwale. (3) The float is attached to the booms in a different and less efficient manner. Three pointed hard-wood sticks are driven into the float, but they are all three approximately perpendicular. They are bound at the top to the boom, but there are no stays of cane to maintain the float rigid against a lateral thrust. In other respects the Little Andaman canoe is the same as the Great Andaman canoe.

The Jarawa of the South Andaman do not at the present time make use of canoes. This is apparently because, through their hostility with the Aka-Bea, they have been confined to the interior of the island. They make rafts of bamboos lashed together for crossing creeks and inlets. The forest-dwellers of the Great Andaman Division seem also to have made occasional use of similar rafts for the same purpose.

A canoe of the North Sentinel was seen by Mr Gilbert Rogers during a visit to that island in 1903[1]. It had been hollowed out of a tree and was about 15 feet long. The ends of the canoe were cut off perpendicularly to its length leaving a piece of the tree about one inch thick projecting for about three inches beyond either end to form a small but rickety seat. The log from which the canoe was cut was curved so that the ends were slightly higher than the middle. It had a float supported by six booms passing through holes cut in the sides of the canoe. These booms were fastened to smaller pieces of stick fixed into the sides of the canoe beneath them. The outrigger was attached to each boom by two small pointed sticks driven into the float and tied to the boom above with cane. There was one small paddle, a *Nautilus* shell for a baler, and five poles resting on the outrigger booms. These point to the canoe being poled along in the lagoon, which is quite shallow, rather than to its being used for long journeys or outside the reefs which surround the island. The

[1] Supplement to the *Andaman and Nicobar Gazette*, January 2, 1904.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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501 canoe was 18 inches in diameter at the smaller end and perhaps 30 inches wide at the larger end.

This description shows that the canoe of the North Sentinel is on the whole more like that of the Little Andaman than like that of the Great Andaman.

501 171 It seems probable that the Andaman Islands were peopled by sea from the coast of Burma. If this were so, then the original ancestors of the Andamanese must have been in possession of canoes. A consideration of the present Andaman canoes suggests that their ancestors had canoes with a single outrigger on the starboard side, with a number of booms. Of the different methods of attaching the booms to the float, it is possible that the method now in use in the Little Andaman (and apparently also in the North Sentinel) is primitive, and that the Great Andaman attachment is an improvement that has been invented since the separation of the two divisions. On the other hand it is not impossible that the Great Andaman attachment is primitive, and that in the Little Andaman we have a degeneration that might be due to the fact that the Little Andaman (and equally the North Sentinel) provides much less scope for maritime pursuits than the Great Andaman.

The recent invention of the large canoe in the Great Andaman and the adoption of the principle of the oar shows that the Andamanese readily adopt new inventions when these are clearly of service to them.

Turning now to the Semang, as these people live inland they have no use for canoes. They make rafts of bamboos lashed together with which they float down the rivers, returning overland.

Some of the Philippine Negritos seem to live on the coast and possibly have canoes, but nothing is known about these.

Conclusion.

171 174 The examination of the technical culture of the Andamanese given above has been sufficient to enable us to make a few statements as to what was probably the culture of the Negritos before they were split up into isolated groups. It is highly probable that they obtained their subsistence solely by hunting and collecting vegetable products. They had bows and arrows, the form of bow being probably fairly similar to that used at the present day in the Little Andaman, while for hunting the larger animals they had arrows with detachable heads. They possibly had no knowledge of any way of making implements of stone,

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

133 2,400 feet, situated in North Andaman, and visible at a distance of 60 miles.

2nd. *Narcondam*,[1] a small hilly island, containing an extinct volcano, with an elevation of 2,330 feet, lying about 70 miles east of North Andaman.

3rd. *Barren Island*, 75 miles S.S.W. of *Narcondam*, and about 42 miles east of the nearest island of the Great Andaman group, from no portion of the coast of which is it visible. It contains an active volcano, the height of which is about 1,015 feet.

[501] 2. Until recent years[2] the first only of these was known to the aborgines, probably owing to the circumstance that they, at least the natives of Great Andaman, have never been seen to venture far out to sea in their frail and clumsy canoes. The name borne by this hill is *Pū·luga lâ·kà bang-* (*lit.* Creator his mouth), referring apparently to its size and inaccessibility, and to a large ravine running down its side. There is also a belief that Saddle Peak was the place of *Pū·luga-*'s[3] residence prior to the deluge.

823 825 3. The formation of rocks, valleys, hills, &c., they attribute to the will of *Pū·luga-*, but they assign the sources of the streams containing oxide of iron, *kòi·ob-chā·lnga-*, and the olive-coloured mineral, *chū·lnga-*, to the action of a poisonous snake, called *lâ·raba-*, well known to them.[4]

103 4. The names they give to the natural forms of land and water are as follows :—

Cape (point)—*tô·ko-chô·ronga-* [*chô·ronga-* = nose].
Isthmus—*tô·to-kī·nab-* [*kī·nab-* = waist].
Mountain—*bô·roin-*.
Valley—*pâ·rag-*.
Strait—*teg-pâ·rag-*.
Coast (shore)—*īgô·ra-* [*gō·ra-* = strong].
Fore-shore—*kē·wad-* and *bô·roga-*.
Island—*tàrchô·na-*.
Islet—*tōt-kai·cha-*.
Harbour—*elàrū·la-*.
Bay—*kō·bunga-*.
Creek—*jīg-*.[5]

[1] The probable derivation of this name will be given in Part II.

[2] Since amicable relations have been established with the South and Middle Andamanese, several members of these tribes have visited Barren Island by accompanying us in the station steamer The name by which it is now known to them is *mólu-tàrchô·na-* (*lit.*, Smoke Island), in allusion to the smoke which is almost always to be seen rising from the volcano, and which they account for by saying that it must be due to a fire which *Pū·luga-* kindled.

[3] *Pū·luga* represents to them The Creator. *Vide* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 7.

[4] *Vide post* "Superstitions," paragraph 21.

[5] The legendary belief regarding the formation of creeks will be found under "Mythology."

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

502 themselves in their effort to maintain the credit of their ship, their cutter, and their flag."

502 396 2. Nowhere on Great Andaman, at all events at the present day, have any aborigines been found capable of propelling a canoe at more than half the speed of one of the ordinary gigs in common use at Port Blair; moreover, in respect to the extreme buoyancy of their skiffs, but little *κύδος* seems due to the Andamanese boat-builder, for having had, until quite lately, no other implement than a rude, though tolerably effective, adze with which to form them, he was compelled to select for his purpose the lightest and softest woods that were procurable. At the same time there is no doubt that if they possessed the requisite knowledge, and the means were available for constructing stronger and more seaworthy craft, they would lose no time in employing them; for they fully recognise the inferiority of their boats, both in regard to workmanship and speed, to those used by Europeans, or by their neighbours the Nicobarese. In one respect only do they consider that their own canoes surpass all others, and that is in the projecting prow, which enables them to spear fish and turtle with more ease than is possible in boats of a different construction.[1]

501 3. The current tradition[2] of the escape of four persons in a boat when the world was submerged, may be fairly considered as affording some evidence that this mode of transit is not regarded as of recent introduction.

4. Many conflicting opinions have been expressed by different writers under this head, and the form of canoe originally manufactured by the Andamanese has been much discussed. They themselves declare that the outrigger (*chá·rigma-*) was adopted immediately after the Deluge, in consequence of the deterioration of a species of *Pandanus* tree, called *mâng-*,[3] of which, prior to that catastrophe, they had been able to make large plain "dug-outs." Until recently[4] the outrigger continued

[1] In the South Kensington Museum there are models of canoes made by the natives of the Andamans and Nicobars, which will give to any interested in the subject a fair idea of their relative merits, as well as of the skill of their respective makers; and it may be added that in the entrance court of the India Museum (South Kensington) a specimen of a fair-sized Andamanese canoe is now to be seen minus its outrigger.

[2] *Vide* "Mythology," paragraph 16.

[3] *Vide* "List of Trees," Appendix I.

[4] The following information was obtained from an Andamanese chief:—"We have used outrigger canoes from time immemorial. It is in recent times that we have commenced making the large plain canoes, and this we were induced to do from the facility with which we have been able to obtain iron. Owing to their large size they do not require outriggers. When the sea is rough we prefer these large dug-outs and the small outrigger canoes when it is calm; the latter are more easily made, but do not last many months when in constant use, whereas the former will serve for a year or more."

Z:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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PLATE X.

GREAT ANDAMAN CANOES, LARGE PLAIN AND OUTRIGGER VARIETIES.

[facing p. 148]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

501 in use, and is still to be seen in North and Middle Andaman, but the possibility of obtaining unlimited supplies of iron has enabled those living near Port Blair to return once more to the traditional "dug-out" of antediluvian times; it also seems that this description of canoe is gaining in favour among the tribes of Middle Andaman and the Archipelago, though it had not, in 1879, when I visited that part, penetrated as far as North Andaman.

502 5. As is correctly stated by Dr. Mouat (p. 316) the Andamanese never venture far from the coast: this was conclusively proved by their ignorance of *Barren Island*[1] and *Narcondam*, until taken past them in the settlement steamer.[2]

6. The safety of either the outrigger or "dug-out," and their adaptability for use as lifeboats,[3] is more than doubtful, while the confidence which is reposed in them by their owners may be judged from the fact that they never venture far from land, and when crossing from one island to another do their utmost to lessen the passage through deep water as much as possible by keeping close in shore and coasting along until the narrowest part of the channel is reached.

501 7. A glance suffices to show the most casual observer that it would be impossible[4] to preserve the equilibrium of these frail barques without their outriggers, which, being attached to three or four pieces of wood passing through the interior of the canoe are, moreover, not easily removable.

8. The advantages possessed by the large plain "dug-outs" over the outriggers are twofold: for in the first place they can breast a fairly rough sea, while the others are fit only for use in perfectly calm weather; and in the second place, while the former can accommodate a party of from fifteen to forty persons

[1] Visible within a short distance of the east coast of the Archipelago.

[2] Since the date of the raids committed by the *jârawas* (of Little Andaman) upon the Car Nicobarese, of which mention is made (as a tradition) by Mr. G. Hamilton (*vide* "Asiatic Researches," vol. ii, p. 337, published 1801), no distant voyages appear to have been attempted by these savages in canoes.

[3] "They would make most excellent lifeboats, such, we believe, as have never yet been constructed by any of our most experienced boat-builders" (*vide* Mouat, p. 317). The returns of life-boat institutions would, however, be somewhat prejudicially affected by the adoption of this suggestion; for, as the same writer goes on to say (p. 318), "the greatest adepts in rowing, steering, and guiding our ordinary boats, find themselves completely at a loss when they get into a Mincopie canoe. When any of our men recklessly got into them, and attempted to paddle out a little way to sea, they invariably succeeded in capsizing them, receiving a thorough drenching in the water as a suitable punishment for their rash and imperfect seamanship."

[4] It is therefore difficult to understand the following allusion made by Dr. Mouat (p. 317):—"When the Mincopie go to sea in them they attach to some part of the boat an outrigger, in some respects resembling that which the Cingalese fishermen attach to their boats."

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

501 the latter are seldom large enough to carry more than four or five, and usually not more than two adults.

9. The chief excellence of both these descriptions of canoes is that they cannot sink, owing to the nature of the wood of which they are constructed, and when, as not unfrequently happens, they capsize or are filled by a heavy wave, their occupants skilfully contrive, with but little delay, to right them and bale out the water, while clinging to the sides.

10. Most of the canoe-making is carried on during the months of August, September, and October, and the average time and labour expended is that of about eight men for a fortnight in hollowing out a canoe or "dug-out," and forming the much esteemed prow; for this purpose a trunk is selected varying in length from 10 to 30 feet, and when the bark has been removed the exterior of the proposed canoe, with its important prow, is shaped with an adze (*wōlo-*[1]), afterwards the interior is scooped out with the same implement; fire is not now-a-days employed to expedite this latter process, whatever may have been the custom in past generations,[2] though I may add that there do not appear to be any traditions in support of such a theory.

11. At the bottom and water-level, canoes, though sometimes more, are never less than 1½ to 3 inches thick, and indeed, if this were not the case, it would be impossible for them to stand, even for a few days, the rough treatment to which they are subjected, or to bear the spoils of a successful turtling expedition.

12. Though the result of the builders' labour might, by making every allowance for the rudeness of their tool, be termed "creditable," it seems passing strange that any writer should especially commend the "finish," "perfection," and "elegance" of the work, and maintain that it surpasses that which could be wrought by Chinese carpenters, whose skill in all handicrafts is so well established.

501 13. The Andamanese anchor consists merely of a heavy stone, or large lump of coral, fastened securely to a stout line of a few fathoms' length. Rafts are quite unknown to them at the present day, and no evidence of their use in bygone years has been discovered.[3]

502 14. The canoes are propelled along the shore[4] by means of the haft of the harpoon spear (*kowai'a lō'ko dā'tnga-*[5]), or, in

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 13.

[2] *Vide* Colebrooke and Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 290, Appendix I.

[3] "They use also rafts made of bamboos to transport themselves across their harbours or from one island to another" (Colebrooke).

[4] Except when the men are engaged in turtling, the women frequently assist in propelling the canoe.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 10.

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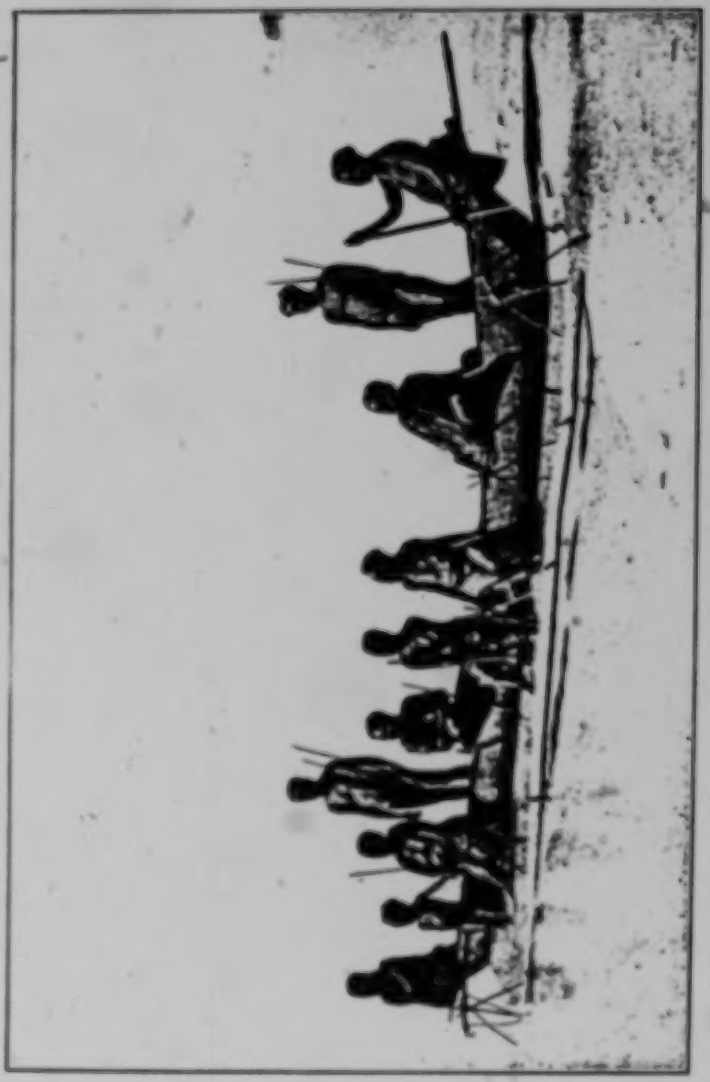

A TURTLE-HUNT.

PLATE XI.

[facing p. 164]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 bamboo (male species preferred), often 18 feet or more in length; for the reception of the harpoon a socket is prepared at the small end, which is strengthened by pieces of mangrove wood, over which strips of cane are neatly tied. The harpoon consists of a strong barbed iron head fastened to a short piece of wood to which a long line (*bē·tma-*) is attached. When a turtle or large fish is struck the harpoon detaches itself from the shaft, which floats and is picked up after the capture has been effected.

[NOTE.—A harpooner almost invariably follows up a successful cast by plunging into the water, lest in the act of dragging the line the harpoon should slip out of the wound and his victim should thus escape.]

501 11. *rō·ko-*.[1] Generic name of the various kinds of canoes made in recent years[2] by the aborigines of South Andaman and adjacent parts, where, owing to the facility of obtaining iron tools, large dug-outs, called *gī·lyanga-*, capable of accommodating twenty to forty persons, are constructed in place of the small outrigger canoes (*chā·rigma-*) with which the other tribes have still to content themselves. They are usually made of the *Sterculia villosa* (Andam., *bā·ja-*), and are often ornamentally painted.

[NOTE.—The outrigger is called *tel-*, and is always made of the wood of *mai·*- (one of the *Sterculiaceæ*), which is soft and light.]

11*a*. *wāl·igma-*.[3] Paddle: these are not made by women, nor are they of any prescribed size, this being regulated merely by the fancy of the maker, and the material at his disposal; they are frequently adorned by women with chevrons[4] (*jō·bo-tàrtā·nga-*) of *kòi·ob-* (item 60) or *tā·ta-ōg-* (item 58).

286 [284] 12. *yôto-tē·pinga-*. Turtle-net, made by men,[5] of a stout cord (*bē·tma-*), which is prepared from the bark fibre of the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*); the meshes vary in size according to the fancy or skill of the maker.[6]

415 322 13. *dā·kar-*.[7] Bucket made by the Great Andaman tribes of the wood used in constructing canoes, *i.e.*, *Sterculia villosa*, with a loop of cane to form the handle; the implement used in hollowing out these vessels is the blade of the adze (*wō·lo-*, item 15), which is detached from its handle and fastened to a straight piece of wood so as to form a sort of chisel.

[NOTE.—The Little Andaman and other *·jār·awa-* buckets are made in the same manner, but are much larger and superior in every way; they are, moreover, neatly ornamented round the sides with strips of cane, evenly laid on and fastened at the rim by plaiting.]

[1] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 69.
[2] *Vide* Part III, "Navigation," paragraph 4, and footnote.
[3] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 70.
[4] *Vide* Part III, "Ornamentation," paragraph 6.
[5] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 60.
[6] *Vide* Part III, "String," paragraph 6.
[7] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 14.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate D.

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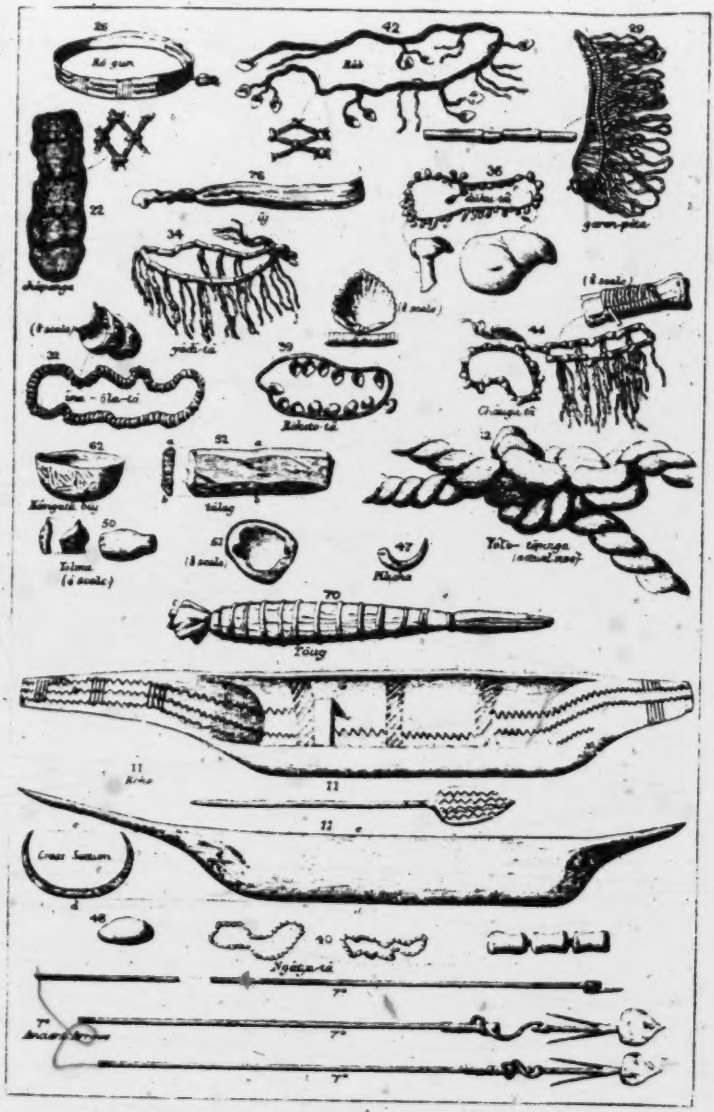

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 182]

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(11) *Canoes.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewa, same pattern canoe; Onge-Jarawa [501] pattern different from above. Both out-rigged, Bojigngiji has in addition a large dug-out without outrigger.

[342] (12) *Huts.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have temporary huts. Onge-Jarawas have large permanent communal dwellings.

[535] (13) *Dancing.*—Bojigngijis and Yerawas, sounding board and song and clapping in unison. Onge-Jarawa, standing in a ring and alternately bending and straightening the knees: also on occasion kicking the buttocks with the flat of the foot.

[352] (14) *Beds.*—Jarawas sleep on the wood ashes of the fires. Onges on raised bamboo platforms. Other tribes on leaves and in sand-holes.

[262 251] (15) *Food.*—The staple food of the Onges is the mangrove fruit, boiled, and they preserve small fish dried after cooking. None of the other tribes do this.

The Long-shore and Jungle Andamanese.—The Andamanese are by themselves again further divided into the Aryoto or long-shore men, and the Eremtaga or jungle-dwellers; the habits and capacities of these two differ, owing to surroundings, irrespective of tribe. Some tribes as the Tabo, Juwai, Kol, and the South Andaman Jarawas, are entirely Eremtaga, while the Balawa, the Chariar, and the Jarawas of the North Sentinel are entirely Aryoto. The Aryoto holds himself to be better than the Eremtaga, but beyond this there seem to be no exclusive distinctions between them and an Aryoto will marry or adopt an Eremtaga.

With the minuteness in matters concerning their surroundings that is characteristic of all entirely uneducated people, the Andamanese recognise a third division of themselves by habits into Adajig or creek-dwellers, *i.e.*, those who live on the shores of the many inlets of the sea on the coasts of the Islands. The habits of the Adajig, however, are practically those of the Aryoto.

Distinctions by habits are quickly lost by the Andamanese. The Jarawas have now no canoes in the South Andaman and are quite incapable of constructing or using them, though all Onges have them and so have the Jarawas on the North Sentinel. So also had the Jarawas that Colebrooke met a century ago. And this year (1902) it was ascertained that the young men brought up at the Duratang (Kyd Island) Home and occupied chiefly in market gardening could neither steer nor paddle a canoe, nor take up tracks in the jungles. In one generation, though there was no restriction in communication with their people, they had lost both sea and forest craft.

Former Isolation of the Tribes.—Before the arrival of the English the tribes, excepting actual neighbours, may be said to have had no general intercourse with each other, and excepting some individuals were entirely unable to converse together, though it can be conclusively shown that all the existing languages are directly descended from one parent tongue. Even Septs had but little mutual intercourse and considerable differences in details of dialect and, as has occurred in other island abodes of savages, there must have been a change of dialect or language along about every 20 miles of the coast. The tribes were in fact brought together and made definitely acquainted with each other's separate existence and peculiarities by the influence and exertions of Mr. Man between 1875 and 1880.

609 **Sympathies and Antipathies.**—The tribal feeling is expressed as follows: friendly within the tribe, courteous to other Andamanese if known, hostile to every stranger, Andamanese or other. The sympathy and antipathy exhibited are strictly natural, *i.e.*, savage, and are governed by descent. The feeling of friendliness lies in an ever-decreasing zone from the family outwards towards sept, tribe, group: hostility to all others. Even septs will fight each other and Aryoto and Eremtaga do not mix much. But there is no "caste" feeling, and tribes will, in circumstances favouring the actions (*e.g.*, living on the tribal borders), intermarry and adopt each other's children. Within the tribe there is so general a custom of adoption that children above six or seven rarely live with their own parents. It is an act of friendliness to give up or adopt a child and the custom has had the effect of making the various septs of a tribe hang together much better than would otherwise have been possible.

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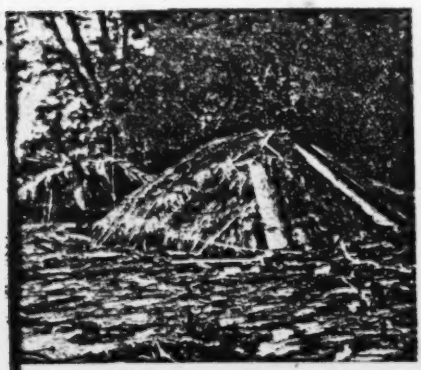

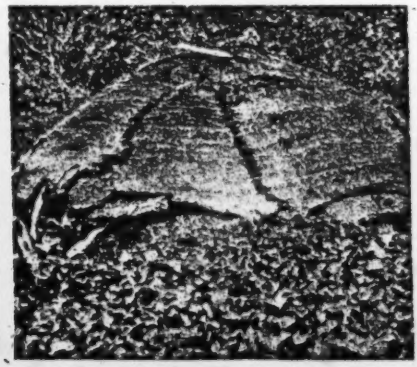

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● [501]

[P.2(A)] Captions will be found on P.2(B)-Analyst

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[P.2(B)]

PLATE I

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Fig. 1—Onge hut, north of Dugong Creek, in Little Andaman Island.

Fig. 2—Onge hut, north of Dugong Creek, in Little Andaman Island.

Fig. 3—Entrance to Onge hut north of Dugong Creek in Little Andaman.

Fig. 4—Onges in front of their hut in Little Andaman (South of Dugong Creek). [142]

Fig. 5—Jarawa Shelter at Spike Island in Middle Andaman.

Fig. 6—Onge canoes with single outrigger in Little Andaman waters. [501]

Mr Subramanian of the Forest Department and Mr Majid's young son also accompanied us. We reached Bumila Creek on the north eastern coast of the Little Andaman at about 3 P.M. and having sighted an Andamanese hut we decided to anchor the launch there. The beach was about 2 miles from the place of anchorage. We took out a small boat and rowed to the beach and reached the hut at about 4 P.M. It was found to be abandoned but there were signs of human occupation and within a few yards a water-hole was discovered. A broken canoe, with a single out-rigger was found close to the hut (*see* Plate I, Fig. 1). Burnt coal and smouldering ashes in the centre of the hut showed that it was probably deserted by the Aborigines as soon as they had sighted us. After making a careful inspection of the place we returned to our launch and decided to anchor there for the night. Unfortunately the choppy sea and the strong current coming from the Bumila Creek tossed our small boat throughout the whole night, as a result of which all of us had an uncomfortable time.

We left southwards towards Hut Bay early in the morning and as we moved along the coast we sighted another Onge hut. This did not seem to be deserted as we saw a few people moving about. We decided to stop there and investigate. We took out a boat and moved towards the coast with such presents as we had brought from Port Blair on the advice of the Chief Commissioner. When we got near the coast, we left the boat and walked for about a furlong through coral beds finally reaching the shore. The hut was found to be circular in shape and not too large, and was occupied by 2 adult females, 1 adult male and a young boy. The adult male, *Ukla*, was the father of the young boy and husband of the younger woman. The older woman was his mother-in-law. These people appeared very friendly. We gave them presents we had brought and took photographs and made drawings of their hut. In addition, full anthropometric measurements were taken by me and blood was taken from fingers for typing by Mr Sarkar. Ukla was able to speak a few Hindi words and we gathered that he had been to Port Blair and knew Mr Bonington, formerly of the Forest Department, Andaman Islands. We found in front of the hut, hanging from a large tree the skull and mandible of a Dugong (*see* Plate I, Figs. 3 & 4). We enquired about its significance from Ukla, but unfortunately his knowledge of Hindi was not sufficient to explain it to us. We learned from him, however, that the name of the village was *Laito*. After making friendly gestures, we returned to 'Molly' and proceeded immediately towards Hut Bay. At about noon time while we were having our lunch, we suddenly saw three outrigger canoes (of single outrigger type) coming towards us, each carrying about 4 Onges. We signalled to them and they came to our launch and tied their canoes with it and came on board. The men appeared to be friendly and not afraid of us. Our greatest difficulty, however, was language, as we could not make ourselves understood as none of the crew or any other member including Mr Subramaniam of the Forest Department knew that language. There was one man who seemed to occupy a position of authority among these men, and was painted with red and yellow ochre on the forehead, arms and breast. The

there were no Andamanese there, but 400 people consisting of 133 males and 130 females who migrated from Bassein in 1924. They were Karen Christians who had settled there. After returning to Long Island on the 12th, Mr Sarkar and party left in the motor boat "Return" for a short cruise along the Jarawa country. Besides Mr Joseph, there were Mr Pooviah and a few of his Burman Bush Police armed with rifles and guns. The party passed through the Homfray's Strait and anchored at the north eastern corner of the Spike Island. Loka and his party of three Andamanese accompanied them in their two canoes. They came to the shore in one of the Andamanese canoes and after entering the forest they found bundles of bamboos piled up at one corner. This was identified as a Jarawa raft. There were also three paddles made out of a palm tree. These specimens were procured for the Department. After proceeding some distance in the jungle, 19 small fire places were counted in scattered manner. A temporary hut was also noticed at a short distance. A number of objects usually used by the Andamanese tribes for household purposes was found including a sling for carrying babies. A beautiful specimen of a Jarawa Bow painted in red in geometrical designs was also found. Photographs were taken of the settlements of the Jarawa camp and objects collected for the Museum. In another place at *Yeratiajig* remnants of a Jarawa camp including pottery and bones of animals, etc., were found. The party returned to Long Island on 14-3-48 and examined 8 of the remaining members of Loka's party. It left the same day for Port Blair where it arrived at 10 P.M. On the 25th Mr Sarkar and his party with the Deputy Chief Commissioner Mr Gupta, left for Kar Nicobar where it arrived on the following day. It returned to Port Blair after staying for a few days. During this time in Kar Nicobar, besides studying the Nicobarese of the Island Mr Sarkar met two Jarawa children who were captured and brought over there and placed in a local Mission School for education.

In the following year in January 1949, another small party was sent under Dr A. K. Mitra with Messrs H. K. Bose and A. Bhattacharyya, to continue the survey of the Little Andaman further along the eastern coast. They visited *Hut Bay* on the 28th and went to the Onge settlement there. A large circular hut similar to that seen by us at Tambebui was observed. It contained nine cots with a fire place in the centre. There were also two outrigger canoes, one in front of the hut and another on the beach. Altogether 11 Onges were found consisting of 2 adult males, 6 females and 3 young children between the ages of 6 to 15. The 8 adults and the adolescent boys were carefully measured and observations noted about their special somatic characters. After leaving Hut Bay they went as far as the South Point which is the southernmost point on the eastern coast of the Little Andaman, but did not see any other Onge settlement. They had to return on the 31st as the launch could not be spared any further.

The Onges were found to be strong and healthy and free from venereal disease, a scourge, which along with tuberculosis were chiefly responsible for the rapid depopulation of the Andamanese tribes. Our observations agree with the accounts of the Negritos of the Andaman Islands published before

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

CHAPTER V
NATURAL VEGETATION

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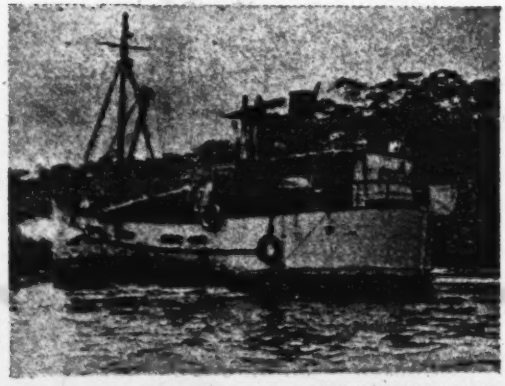

A timber carrying launch of the Andamans.

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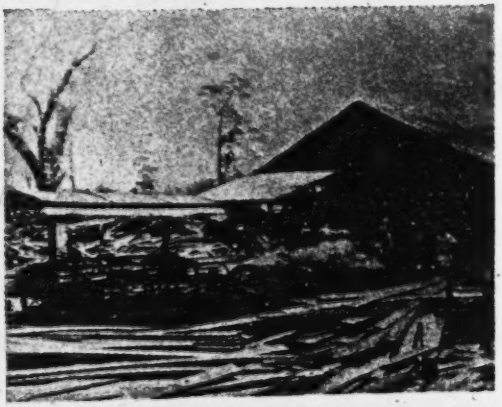

A view of the Saw Mill at Chatham Island.

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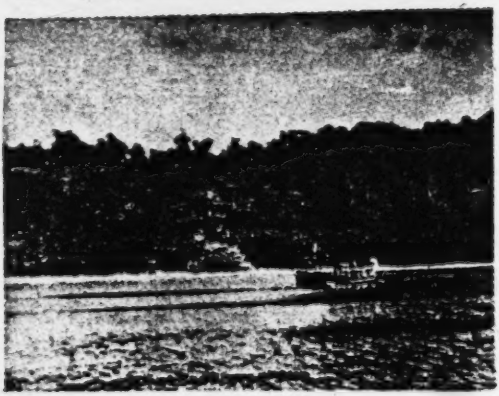

A view of the natural vegetation along the Sea coast.

[facing p. 36]

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

[P. 670]

The Jarawa of the Andaman Islands

By S. S. Sarkar (Calcutta)

Introduction

The Jarawa of the Andaman Islands are confined along the western coast of South Andaman, where their movements are restricted – roughly speaking – between Port Anson on the north and Constance Bay on the south (fig. 1). They are also reported from the southwestern part of the island of Baratang – an island completely separated from South and Middle Andaman. The latter group must, therefore, use some kind of watercraft to cross over from one island to the other. The extreme northern tip of the South Andaman Island was until recently used by the Jarawa for crossing over to Middle Andaman through the two intervening Islands of Spike and Bluff with the help of bamboo rafts (Sarkar, 1954). This route has now been checked owing to the establishment of a police picket on Bluff Island.

The Jarawa also appear to have used some sort of watercraft to migrate into North Sentinel Island in the distant past. Their craft may have been similar to the outrigger canoes described by Bonig (1912) on the occasion of his visit to this island. The distance from Port Mouat to North Sentinel is about 24 miles and although Bonig says that "the boats are not very seaworthy" this distance must at one time have been crossed by the ancestors of the present-day inhabitants of North Sentinel Island. Bonnington (1932) used the term Sentinelese for them, while Lowis (1912, 1923) preferred to call them Jarawa. It appears from what little is known about them that they are more akin to the Jarawa of South Andaman than to the other Negrito groups. No canoes are reported from among the Jarawa of South Andaman ; it appears that the bamboo raft is enough for their transport on water. The Jarawa outrigger canoes of North Sentinel Island, which Bonig mentions as somewhat different from those of the Onge or the Andamanese, indicate a somewhat higher cultural status of the former as compared with the groups living on South Andaman.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH[1], both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied to one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

Soon we came upon a clearing in the jungle. There was no Jarawa, but all around we saw traces of a temporary halt of a large party. We counted nineteen fireplaces. At a distance from the fireplaces we saw a small temporary hut improvised out of the materials available on the spot. Two small shrubs were tied together on two sides to form the roof of the hut. The Andamanese identified it to have been made for the Jarawa chief and his wife. Household objects lay scattered about. Three bamboo cylinders, closed at one end by the natural node, were found next to three of the fireplaces. They are used for carrying water. A dark coloured modern glass bottle, probably acquired during a raid, was also found. One fireplace had a small compartment enclosed by a few wooden posts a few yards off. The Andamanese identified it as an enclosure for keeping a child at a safe distance from the fire. This was probably correct as there was also a baby sling made of bark, exactly similar to that used by the Onge for carrying a baby on its mother's back (VON EICKSTEDT, 1934, fig. 211). At one corner of a fireplace the shavings of an arrowshaft or a bow were seen and nearby was a flat round pebble, one end of which was broken like that of a scraper (fig. 3). This scraper showed marks of red ochre on it. Beneath a tree a circular mat, sewn out of three pieces of long triangular palm-like leaves was spread out, while on its branches was found a beautiful specimen of an unstrung bow. It appeared to have been recently prepared and

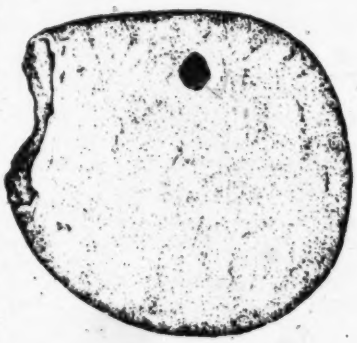

Fig. 3

[1] These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

CHAPTER IX

ABORIGINAL POPULATION

144 As said earlier, the aboriginal population of the Andamans belong to the negrito group which is spread over the different parts of Southeast Asia e.g. the Semangs and Sakais of Malaya, the Veddas of Ceylon, the Tapiro of New Guinea etc. The pygmies of the Equatorial Africa also show very close resemblance to the negritoes in physical as well as cultural characteristics but the latter are taller, much more dark skinned and also hairy than the former. In spite of the racial affinity with the other negrito groups of Southeast Asia, the Andamanese show a remarkable degree of purity, an outcome of the virtual seclusion and little contact with the other people. But the infiltration of the later settlers have proved a long way to bring about some changes in them. The comparison of the Andamanese with the other negritoes will prove that a good deal of evolution of the Andamanese has been attained by them independently.

Affinity with the other Negritoes of Southeast Asia

171 Though the fundamantals of the economy of the Andamanese do not differ appreciably from the Semangs and the other groups, some characteristic features distinguish these people from the others. The Andamanese follows a long series of food privations which is absent among the Semangs and the equipments are also more elaborate than
● [501] the other negritoes. The outrigger canoes of the Andamanese are more improved, the bows are of complicated S-form and the huts are considerable improvements of the rudimentary temporary camps original to the negritoes. These indicate a definite improvement of the material culture of the Andamanese over the others.

The affinity of the Andamanese with the other negrito groups i.e. the Semangs of the Malaya Peninsula and the Aetas of the Philippines can very well be traced from the study of the equipments of material culture and also from the general habits and the methods of life.

171 As regards the equipments, the bow, the arrow, the mode of erecting
411 shelter and its shape show further improvements in their constuction though the prevalence of the original simple types can be detected in some parts. The original one curvature bow has considerably evolved and has developed into the S-shaped bow in the Andamans though the

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

An outrigger Canoe. (Courtesy A. S. I.)

● 501
[133]

An outrigger Canoe with a Burmese Boat (Courtesy A. S. I.)

[facing P. 60]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

105 177 439 of all these things, locally not available, was felt by the aborigines only due to their slight contact with the later settlers.

However, a broad two-fold division of the aboriginal population can be made.

101 174

1. Aborigines of the Great Andaman Group — All the aborigines of the Great Andamans with the exception of the Jarawas, the most hostile aborigines living in the southwestern part of the Andamans.

2. Aborigines of the Little Andaman Group — the Onges of the Little Andaman, the Jarawas of the South Andaman & the Sentinelese of the North Sentinel island.

As to how these two groups came into being and their areas of distribution, various theories have been put forward. Long after the attainment of the individual traits of these two groups, a continuous northward movement of the aborigines from the Little Andaman was in vogue and one such party had arrived in the Great Andamans who have been lately known as the Jarawas, who were all along subjected to pressure of the local natives belonging to the Great Andaman Group, the *Aka bea* of South Andaman. The very development of the hostility of the Jarawas and their complete seclusion from the other aboriginal groups owe to their being continuously subjected to the adversities. B. V. Eickstedt[1] has been of the opinion that the aborigines of the Andamans entered into the Great Andamans in two groups—the earlier group comprises the Onge, Jarawas and the Sentinelese while to the later group belong the ancestors of the Great Andaman Group. The passage of the Great Andaman Group has led to a constant southward push of the earlier group which has ultimately led to their habitation in the islands of the south i.e., the Little Andaman, Rutland Island and a part of the South Andaman. Cipriani has been emphatic enough in justifying the views of Brown that the Jarawas reached the Great Andamans from the south. Though they are supposed to have come from the Great Andamans by canoes, the art of constructing canoes and of using them have been completely forgotten and Cipriani believes that such instances of the loss of knowledge of the construction of canoes and their uses are many. A list of the names of the camps, given by Cipriani in the 1951 census, dating back to antiquity and having a good supply of drinking water and of

101 174 182 501

[113]

1 Eickstedt, B. V — Die Negrito der Andaman (Autho Ans).

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

food lie in a chain running from north to south along the islands between Little and Great Andamans. This has been one of the most convincing proofs of the movement of the aborigines from the south to the north. Cipriani writes, 'All these organisations, with geographical names, camps, places for water and food, indicate an ancient navigating experience moving from the south to the north. About a century and half ago the Jarawas are said to have still been in possession of canoes and the same is said of the savage inhabitants of the North Sentinel Island less than 50 years ago. In a surprisingly short period the technique of making canoes seems to have been completely forgotten as a result of the difficulties of using them."

THE ABORIGINES OF THE GREAT ANDAMAN GROUP

Andamanese, as they are called, were the most widespread and the largest in number. They had split up ultimately into a few sub-groups from the north to the south. The different groups are *Aka-kora, Aka-boa, Aka-jeru and Aka-bea.* There has been a deplorable decline in the number of these aborigines who in the bygone ages exceeded all other groups in number. At present the number is only 23, a considerable reduction from the number 625 only in the beginning of the 20th century. Though the present importance of the Andamanese because of the extremely poor number is far from significant, they are of no small interest for the study of the anthropologist, especially the impact of these people with the later settlers.

The consequences of the impact of the outsiders on the Andamanese have been far from satisfactory. With the formation of the penal colony, the aborigines continued to develop feud and on the 14th of May, 1959 a clash between the aborigines and the Govt. occurred which is known as the Battle of Aberdeen. Aberdeen is at the heart of the town of Port Blair. Efforts of pacifying these aborigines were made and for bringing them into closer terms of amity, the 'Andamanese Home' was started in 1863 by Rev. H. Corbyn Chaplain. They were employed for working with the convicts taught to speak English and wear clothes. The consequence of such an impact has been alarmingly devastating because of the infiltration of a number of vices and diseases which only paved the way for their impoverishment and decay (For further particulars see demographic characteristics).

2 Cipriani, L — On the origin of the Andamanese, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1951.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

137 with, its European counterpart. The spores, attached to a plume barely visible to the naked eye but wonderfully constructed, are carried into the sky by the air currents rising from the pools in the hottest part of the day and travel considerable distances.

One could fill whole books with the botany of the islands but here I can record only a few examples. One I cannot leave out is a species of *ipomea*, or Morning Glory, which flourishes on the sandy beaches in the lee of the coral reefs. The local varieties are not climbers, but spread over the ground in a compact lattice of stems, fairly well able to withstand the onslaught of wind and water. They prevent coastal erosion, both by the protection which their covering of strong stems and leathery leaves provides and by holding fast loose pieces of coral. These *ipomeas* are found only in the Andamans, some with purplish flowers and others white. They surround the communal huts along the coast, carpeting every free inch of ground cleared by the Onges of other and more destructive vegetation. They make no attempt to cut down the *ipomea*, as the compact growth helps their canoes to slide up and down the beach.

[501] [824]

133 137 Along the coast of Little Andaman one sees rows of beautiful casuarinas (the Whistling Pine) especially a little to the north of Bugong Creek. From out at sea they stand against the skyline like rows of Italian cypress. They never reach the height of which they are capable, owing to the wind and the nature of the terrain; apart from a small stony, hilly area in the interior, of ancient continental origin, the island is really nothing more than a huge coral bank lying against these hills, which in the course of thousands of years has become covered with vegetal mould of no great depth. Trees are therefore forced to send their roots out horizontally, and the strong monsoon winds can easily uproot the tallest of them. After every storm one sees huge trunks lying on the ground, their wide net of roots sticking high into the air. Only a few of the giants in the interior manage to resist, protected by their neighbours. On Great Andaman, where there is more land of continental origin, deep rooting is possible and the forest presents a very different picture.

137 Much has already been written by others about the epiphytes, among them beautiful ferns and even more lovely orchids, which cling desperately to the trees in their struggle to reach the light. All are closely related to the flora of Burma, Malaysia, and Sumatra,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The Onges are the most numerous of the three peoples surviving in the Andamans. Vigorous and apparently full of promise for the future they may well offer a suitable field for the application of eugenic measures designed to increase their numbers; this would be impossible with the Jarawas owing to their hostility towards outsiders, and the few remaining Arioto are nearly all of impure stock. If their confidence could be gained, it might be possible to encourage inter-marriage between the various groups, in the hope that fertility would increase and the ultimate total extinction of Onges, Jarawas and Arioto, would be prevented.

In the Andamanese, this physiological decline has been accompanied by cultural decadence, as my digs in the kitchen-middens all over the archipelago showed. The ancient pottery which came to light is proof enough; when one compares it with recent work the latter is indicative of secondary and not original primitiveness. The successive strata in the deposits show a gradual decline from earthenware clearly made from a very refined mix to crude ware with vegetable impurities and bits of stone left in the clay. The pots dating from ancient times were clearly well fired and the quality of the clay allowed them to have thin but nevertheless very strong walls. In the present-day ware, on the other hand, the wall has to be thick because of the coarseness of the clay, making the pots both heavy and easily broken. Moreover, firing is limited to drying the pots in the sun, and the clay is in fact only hardened when the pot is used for cooking.

Ignorance of fire-making in the Andamans may also stem from this cultural regression, as one of the effects of physiological and psychological decadence. Given the absence of magico-religious beliefs among the Andamanese, ignorance of fire-making cannot be attributed to any ritual taboo or veto. On the other hand, it is in sharp contrast to the possession of elements of cultural advance such as the bow, with highly developed arrows, the harpoon with its detachable point, and the outrigger canoe.

Few races are known, even in far distant times, which never had fire. *Sinanthropus* and nearly every fossil Man after him had fire, even if he was unable to create it and could only preserve it once received from some natural combustion. The Onges, while retaining a number of ethnic characteristics of the Palaeolithic era, have

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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9 The bow and arrow is the main weapon used for hunting; in this photograph the archer has the long arrow harpoon used for spearing large fish

10 Fishing in the coral shallows

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[facing P. 66, G]

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11 *Above* Launching an outrigger canoe
12 *Below* Hunter with a monitor lizard
13 Mother and child

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[facing P. 66, H]

The continual fighting between the Eremtaga and the Arioto led, as we have seen, to the gradual disappearance of the communal huts of the latter as being too vulnerable. Subsequently, the conflict still going on between foreigners and Jarawas completed the destruction, so that there are now no communal huts on Great Andaman. The ever-increasing violence of the punitive expeditions against the Jarawas put an end to their numerical recovery during the last fifteen years or so, and there may indeed now be none left. Today only their kitchen-middens, and the surviving Onges, remain to show us how the Jarawas must have lived.

The Jarawa middens are distinguishable from those of the Arioto by their inland position and by their content of freshwater shellfish and land gasteropods, not eaten by the peoples of the coast.

Like the kitchen-middens of the Onges, those of the Jarawas contain human bones clearly interred in graves, and not scattered among the refuse. This refutes the Arioto accusation against the Eremtaga of cannibalism, and that of the people of South Andaman (now vanished) against the people of North Andaman and the Onges; the remains of cannibal feasts would undoubtedly have been found among kitchen refuse and not carefully buried in the ritual manner, with the graves filled in with earth. And the Jarawas and the majority of the Arioto buried their dead in the communal huts, continuing a custom which originated while they were still on Little Andaman. In time variations arose, but this does not alter the evidence in favour of migration in ancient times from the south, via the Nicobars and Little Andaman.

The differences in culture between the islands can be explained by the ease with which primitive peoples forget. The Jarawas, for example, although they reached Great Andaman by sea from Little Andaman, forgot in a few generations the art of hollowing canoes when they were forced to live in the depths of the forests, far from the sea. Today, they have been free from the Arioto for some time, at least on the west coast, and have access to the sea, but they have not started building canoes again. In other things, however, such as burial rites, the Jarawas kept faithful to the old Onge customs; their middens show the same exhumation of the bones, the same cleaning, and tinting with ochre, and careful reburial.

The general similarity of the middens in Great and Little Andaman cannot be due to chance. Animal food, for example, has clearly

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The widespread use of the arrow and spear harpoons since very ancient times is evidenced by their survival in areas far removed from each other, and among primitive peoples geographically completely isolated. The arrival of the harpoon in the Andamans must in all probability have occurred thousands of years ago when it was widespread at least in the south and south-east of the Asian continent. Even the Andamanese canoes with their platforms fore and aft built specially for the harpoon throwers indicate not only the antiquity of the islanders, but also their historical and cultural connection with the peoples represented today by the few remaining Negritos.

From the evidence of the middens it is clear that the links between the Onges and the Jarawas are very close. While the date of the first migration from Little Andaman to Great Andaman remains uncertain there can be no doubt that migrations took place, followed by isolation within the islands, until today the Arioto cannot understand the Eremtaga, and the Onges neither the Jarawas nor the Sentinellese. There is very little in the literature on the Jarawas and their origin, but from my own observations I would deduce that they arrived in Great Andaman comparatively recently, as even their subsequent rigid isolation has not brought about any really essential cultural differences from the Onges.

The route of the migration will undoubtedly have led them via Rutland, whose heights can be seen as an open invitation from the north of Little Andaman. Chains of small, uninhabited islands lie between; the Onges have a name for all of them and have camp sites there for use on hunting or fishing expeditions; the Arioto, on the other hand, do not appear ever to have been to the islands. From Rutland migrations would have moved on to Great Andaman, until, filtering through to the extreme north, they became the Jarawas, or 'strangers', as the Arioto still call them. The Arioto themselves probably arrived previously by the same route but stopped in the coastal areas, then uninhabited and inviting occupation. The Arioto would have considered themselves owners of the still uninhabited areas and tried to exclude later immigrants; so began the hostility I have already described between the occupiers of the coasts and the later arrivals whom they forced into the depths of the forests.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

All the evidence points to this being far more than mere supposition and even today the Onges persist in their tendency to expand towards the north. In 1953 I could find no trace of a number of Onges whom I had known in 1952; the others told me they were all 'dead', but it seems probable that they had migrated to the islands further north. And in 1954 nearly all the canoes belonging to the communal huts in the south-west of Little Andaman, which I had seen in 1953, had vanished and were said to have gone with the 'dead'. It is probable that they too had migrated to Great Andaman, becoming 'Jarawas'.

This is physically quite possible. Between Little Andaman and Great Andaman the Onges have a line of transit camps, still in use, where food and water are easily available. All have a name, and I followed the line myself. With the help of their fragile but very fast canoes, and without carrying food or water (which they know will be available at the next transit camp), they can travel very quickly. They take fire with them in the canoes in the form of a burning torch and while they are at sea, unlike the lazy pace of their normal attitude to life, they seem possessed by the desire to reach the next stopping point on terra firma.

Moreover, one may deduce from the fact that the names of these transit camps are all in the Onge language that the migrations have always been from south to north. Little Andaman, formed as it is mainly of coral banks and only projecting a short way above the sea, disappears from view in the tropical mists a few kilometres from the shore; from Rutland it is invisible, and as the Andamanese only travel by sea with land in sight or when its existence and direction is well known, no one from the north would have dared to travel south into the unknown.

We have already seen that the ignorance of the present-day Jarawas as regards the sea is no bar to a hypothesis of their original arrival in Great Andaman by sea. Colebrook, a hundred and fifty years ago, actually saw them with canoes, and Gilbert Rogers[1] recorded seeing canoes on the coasts of North Sentinel very similar to those of the Onges today. The accumulation, therefore, of this evidence and the general similarity of culture throughout the archipelago all adds up to inescapable conclusions.

Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen

[1] *Andaman and Nicobar Gazetteer*, 2 January 1904.

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They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiating signs to help them. Even the *marque de chasse* found on their arrow heads had no major significance; in all probability they merely served to indicate the best arrow and at most they served as a warning to the womenfolk not to touch them (it is interesting that I never saw any woman or child with a bow or an arrow). But this is as far as they go towards superstition, and its only effect is to enhance the division of duties between the sexes.

The Onges, unlike the Jarawas and Arioto, have never lost the art of canoe making, and the building of a new canoe is an important matter. The selected tree, always one of the three species of *Sterculia*, is felled and then hollowed out slowly and laboriously with a rudimentary form of hatchet, the work often being done by one man alone. The weight of the felled trunk makes it necessary for the work to be done where it falls, but after much patient whittling away the resulting canoe is extremely light, with thin walls, though still not light enough to be carried to the water, never far away. A series of short logs are used as rollers in the age-old way and the builder's friends all gather to help clear a way through the undergrowth and prepare the rollers. Only a few are needed; all is soon ready and the Onges watch delightedly as the canoe glides away down to the shore. These canoe-ways often provided me with an easy path to the sea if I came upon them in the forest. Sometimes they led not to shore but to one of the many creeks, where salt water and marine fauna penetrate miles inland and make it easy for the Onges to launch their canoes from a point far from the sea.

The Onge canoe, hollowed out in one piece, is a survival of the ancient canoes of the Neolithic age, found in Switzerland and elsewhere in Europe. It survives in the Andamans, and through Oceania to the Americas, in northern Asia (notably among the Ainu) in south-west Asia, and even in south-east Africa.

The canoe has no distinction between bow and stern, and is commonly navigated from either. At each end of the canoe a crude platform juts out, on which the harpoon throwers stand. Very careful attention is paid to the float, which is fragile, and is therefore kept on the lee side. The object of it is to prevent the canoe from capsizing, which it is otherwise very liable to do owing to its round keel, always left in the natural shape of the tree-trunk. I had some experiences of rough seas in one of these canoes

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501 – I saw the float roll over my head and the entire contents of the canoe, men and cargo alike, rolled out into the water. The Onges regard this as a great joke; the canoe cannot sink, it is easily righted, and they have neither clothes nor baggage, so why worry? But even so, their canoes are far more stable in the water than any European-type craft of the same size.

When the sea is rough the Onges all move to the side of the canoe which carries the float and one lies out on the float itself to prevent it from rising out of the water as the trunk rolls. Very light waves will swamp the canoe, but it never sinks, as the float always remains on the surface, with the occupants of the canoe clinging to it. I had to do this myself on several occasions, while the Onges dived after all my baggage in great glee.

All over the world local craft are always the best adapted to local conditions. Several times I was able to land on Little Andaman in stormy weather only by leaving a modern sloop for the Onges' frail craft, identical with those in which they reached and spread over the archipelago in ancient times.

So important are their canoes to the Onges that they will expend what is for them an enormous amount of time and energy in choosing the right tree and removing the branches and the lianas twining round it. Then they wait with (for them) quite extraordinary patience for the scars to heal and become watertight before they fell the tree and begin the real work of making the canoe.

[184] On Little Andaman the single outrigger canoe is the only craft used. On Great Andaman the Jarawas, who lost the art of canoe-building during their centuries of enforced hiding in the forests, only put together very primitive rafts, hastily constructed when they have to cross a creek or a river, and then abandoned on the far side to the termites.

These rafts are merely a number of tree-trunks laid side by side and bound together with lianas and *Ficus* bark. I have seen them lying abandoned on Middle Andaman and in 1938 one was taken by the police on the occasion of the capture of three Jarawa children. Extremely roughly made, these rafts are never taken out to sea, but in recent years they have been enough to encourage the spread of the Jarawas towards North Andaman.

Among the few surviving Negritos on North Sentinel the Onge

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

type of canoe is the only craft seen. I saw some hauled up on the beach, identical with the ones I had seen the Onges building, even to the *Nautilus* shell as a baler. In face of this and other evidence there can be little doubt that the people of North Sentinel are descended from the Onges, possibly driven off course by some storm, and then isolated on the island.

The Arioto, copying Indian and Burmese craft, have in recent times come to modify the original canoe somewhat, deepening the gunwales and doing away with the float. The result is a craft which though it remains small is unlikely to fill with water in heavy seas. But even the Arioto prefer the single outrigger canoe for sea voyages.

The only real seafarers, however, are the Onges, who make regular hunting trips as far as Rutland. In the past they sometimes made devastating raids as far as Car, but these have died out over the past hundred years as their numbers have dwindled. There is certainly no doubt that at one time the Onges undertook considerable sea voyages in canoes the same as they build today.

The work involved in the building of these canoes is, as I have said, enormous. The preparatory work on the tree, and then the felling, are hard enough without proper equipment. I gave my Onge friends some long-handled wood-cutter's axes, to help in this part of the work. In their enthusiasm they chopped so hard they soon broke the handles and chipped some of the tempered blades, so that I had to take them to Port Blair for repair! But the real work begins with the working of the felled trunk. Then a small and very crude form of hatchet[1] has to be used, flaking off small strips like a plane; fire is never used to assist in the process. Fortunately the *Sterculia* wood usually chosen is soft.

The original shape is not touched after the required length, calculated so as to allow for the harpoon-thrower's platform at each end, has been cut. The irregularities of the trunk are left intact, so that the canoes look distorted and even ugly despite their seaworthiness. During the preliminary stage of stripping the bark great care is taken not to chip the outer ring of wood immediately below the bark; this is smooth and fine-grained, and more waterproof than the inner layers. One danger is that as the wood dries

[1] The blades used to be made from *Tridacna* shell, but in more recent times they have come to be made of iron from wrecked ships cast up on the beaches.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

I examined a number of canoes drawn up on the beach. They varied in size from some eight to ten metres long, built to carry twenty people, to small single-manned craft three to four metres long, and there were some very small ones clearly intended to encourage the children to set out on their own. The very large canoes are, however, rare. The beam also varied considerably from some barely wide enough to admit a man's knees to others of one and a half metres or more.[1]

In the shallows, contrary to some assertions, paddles are never used; the booms would make alternate paddling extremely difficult. Reversed harpoon shafts are instead used as punt poles and oars, usually made of *Myristica longifolia*, are used only in deep water. They are sometimes but not always lashed into the holes in the gunwale through which the booms pass. They are short, not more than 1·3 metres long and are always rowed forwards (obviously there would be a danger of stubbing a reef if the European style of rowing was used). Like the canoes, the oars vary somewhat in size. Very roughly made they consist of a handle ninety centimetres long and a forty-centimetre blade. The grip tapers almost to a point and increases gradually in diameter towards the blade, which is long, narrow, blunt-ended and flat-convex in section. Usually it is merely roughly shaped with the Onges' crude hatchet, but occasionally it is smoothed off with a sharp *Cyrena* shell. The helmsman and pilot stand on the two platforms, guiding the canoe with oars. As far as possible the rowers avoid the side bearing the outrigger mechanism; any deviation of course caused by the unilateral rowing is corrected by the two steersmen.

When they first launch a canoe the Onges decorate it with ochre designs like those on their bodies and the hollowed logs used to hold honey, although they are washed off as soon as the craft enters the water. As usual the men do all the work up to that point and the women do the painting. The initial painting is the only form of ornament on the canoes; there is not even a mark of ownership, although each canoe is curiously enough recognized as the property of one man, despite the fact that everyone has helped to

[1] I am unable to agree with Brown that the Onge canoes are extremely small, that they have bow and stern, and that their floats are inefficient. My own experiences of travelling in the canoes has led me to the opinion that on these and other points Brown was wrong, possibly partly because he never actually visited Little Andaman.

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build it (when I wanted to acquire two for the new anthropological museum at Port Blair and the Indian Museum in Calcutta I had to bargain with the men recognized as the owners, although the price had to be distributed among all the members of the group).

The chief delight of the men on their fishing trips is the capture of a Giant Turtle. I have already described (p. 88) the spear harpoons which the Onges use to catch them. Once caught, the wretched animals are subjected to a form of vivisection utterly incomprehensible to the Western mind; they are literally cut up alive and the pieces thrown into the boiling cooking-pot. Nor have I ever witnessed anything so terrible as the way in which the Onges, in the absence of any suitable cooking vessel, or the materials for an earth oven, roast these turtles whole and alive over a slow fire. They seem totally unable to realize that animals can feel pain and laugh like children at the other atrocious tortures they unwittingly inflict not only on the turtles, but on every living thing that falls into their hands.

These marine turtles (as far as I was able to see there were no land turtles in the Andamans) yield a far greater amount of food than the dugong, and provide the islanders with both meat and eggs. Two species are common in the seas round the islands, *Chelonia virgata*, or the green turtle, and *Caretta imbricata*, which supplies the shells normally sold commercially. The Onges prefer the former, which are both meaty and more plentiful.

Turtle-hunting and egg-collecting is done by the menfolk. The method is very like that used for dugong and large fish, using the harpoon. Owing to their fear of the spirits abroad in the night, the Onges never go near the beaches between dusk and dawn, when it would be easy to take the turtles on land and immobilize them by turning them on their backs. They do know this trick, however, and use it when captured turtles (often weighing up to a hundredweight) are too heavy to carry in the canoe; the animals are turned on their backs and dumped on the beach ready to pick up later.

The Onges harpoon the turtles from canoes, preferably at night when the turtles are nearing the shore, which they never approach in the day time. When there is a moon the creatures are easily seen, and on dark nights the phosphorescence of the sea helps.

136 Andaman, in Yeratil Jig (near Port Anson, about fifteen miles from Long Island) in Diglipur (or Dilyapur) Creek, near Port Cornwallis, and in Wilima Jig,[1] but they are now extinct. In March 1952 the Onges had described the presence of crocodiles so clearly to me as to leave no doubt what they meant, and I soon received confirmation when I found their tracks on the sand about one kilometre from the mouth of Jackson Creek, on the right bank, and then saw some lying on the shore across the creek. Through my field glasses I saw small birds pecking between the teeth of the great wide-open jaws. As we approached they slid lazily into the sea, some reappearing a little later, their cavernous mouths rising vertically out of the water. Every day after that I saw them swimming quietly near the banks, and one afternoon my men and I between us saw over a dozen, near Nachuge, dozing in the mud or in the water.

[825] [198] The Onges assured me that crocodiles will come out of the water to a certain whistle. I got them to try it; the Onges whistled, and whistled again, but no crocodiles came!

237 321 276 172 Very different from the great turtles and the crocodiles, but equally important in the daily life of the Onges, are the crabs from which the islanders make their ancient and very characteristic pipes. They eat the crabs and use the claws to make the pipes, cutting them across the joint and boring a hole in the end, as they have done since time immemorial, to smoke aromatic leaves from the forest. Fragments of similar pipes, charred with use, appear in even the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, dating back thousands of years and proving the antiquity of the smoking habit. Contrary to popular belief, smoking did not begin everywhere with the introduction of tobacco – in Asia at least men smoked thousands of years ago.

237 276 171 The claw pipes of the Onges have a groove cut round the end which goes into the mouth, so that the teeth can grip it better. I have seen identical pipes, with the same groove, in the Melville Islands, where there are many other signs of ethnographic connections with the Andamans. The canoes, for example, are identical with those of the Andamans; the peoples themselves, however, are today very different physically.

[501] [142]

[165] [1] According to Portman a man was dragged into the water here on 11 May 1894 by a crocodile and killed; several similar incidents have occurred since.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

way in which the spirits are invoked against enemies, involving the use of some personal possession – an example is the invariable destruction of the used *naquineghe*, or of hair after shaving. The same fear of the night induced by the idea of spirits walking abroad led to the making of torches from rolled palm leaves containing a mixture of embers and resin.

From the Andamans to Oceania the chief spirit is generally imagined in the form of a giant lizard, living at the top of the sky and ruling the storms; none of the peoples who believe in him ever eat any lizard or lizard-like creature. All of them have the same sexually suggestive dances, both male and female, sometimes inspired by the monitor or dragon-lizard, symbol of desire, and often associated with miming and dramatic representations of real and imaginary scenes. These dances, with their *joie de vivre*, are accompanied by the smoking of aromatic leaves in pipes which are frequently made from natural objects such as the claws of crustacea. The Onges in fact have since very ancient times used only this type as shown in the lower levels of the kitchen-middens dating back at least five thousand years. Everywhere, pipes of this kind are used indiscriminately by both sexes, passing from mouth to mouth. Pipes identical in every way with those of the Onges are found to the east of the archipelago, well into Oceania, and I have myself also seen them on Melville Island, north of Australia, always with the same notches for the teeth to grip. This undeniable evidence of the spread of identical pipes over so wide an area long before the possibility of European contacts cannot in my opinion be attributed other than to migration over vast distances in very ancient times.

Similar coincidences apply in the case of the arrow harpoon and indeed harpoons in general. I cannot agree with Brown in his assertion that the harpoon dates from the arrival of European influences, which brought the use of iron; the harpoon points made by long and patient working of *Tridacna* shells which I found in the kitchen-middens of the Andamans are in my view enough to refute the theory.

The canoes from which these harpoons are used, with the absence of distinction between bow and stern and the single float on the lee side, are extremely typical. They are identical in peoples which have been widely separated for a very long time and appear not only on the Andamans, and as far as Oceania, but also in North

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Queensland and (as the Cape Bedford type) elsewhere. Oars, method of fixing the booms and float – all are similar throughout the area, including the Andamans.

Even game, once caught, is treated and distributed similarly by these peoples, from the Andamans to Oceania. Cooking is done without salt, in earth ovens (whether or not fire or red-hot stones are used) very different from those of Africa and America. The Semang and Aetà of today know how to make fire by friction, as do the peoples of New Guinea, Australia and Polynesia; the Tasmans also have the knowledge to do so, but prefer to carry burning logs with them on their journeys, like the Andamanese. In certain parts of New Guinea and perhaps in some of the Pacific islands (as in the Andamans) the art of fire-making was unknown or possibly forgotten until recent times; it is said that the Papuans of the Bay of Astralobius knew nothing of the art until the middle of the nineteenth century. But the only sure information comes from the Andamans, where, whether through ignorance or loss of knowledge, the art of fire-making is unknown and fire is always carried everywhere.

Among the objects typical of the Andamans and found also among the Semang, the Aetà, and other Oceanic peoples are the digging stick and the crude hatchet. The former, used for gathering edible roots and tubers, is merely a pointed stick, but every family possesses one. The hatchet is slightly more elaborate, having both handle and blade, and like the digging stick, occurs always in virtually the same form.[1] Objects woven from vegetable fibres are also very similar in appearance – often very durable and sometimes pleasing by any standards. In some places woven breast-plates are used in warfare, but here the Jarawas differ, using single sheets of bark.

These are but a few of the many examples which one can find of this striking similarity between these widely separated peoples. And alongside cultural similarities there exist others, anthropological and physical, which cannot be overlooked. Physically the

[1] This is simply a cutting tool fixed into a natural elbow in a suitable branch. The blade is fixed into the wood near the elbow, and the branch is cut off, so as to leave a short handle. The whole thing is reminiscent of a swan's head on a long neck, and is easily turned into a crude plane or adze by revolving the blade in the haft through a right angle.